Residential segregation of the Italian Libyan population in Rome half a century after repatriation

Oliviero Casacchia
oliviero.casacchia@uniroma1.it
Sapienza Università di Roma

Luisa Natale
natale@unicas.it
Università di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale

Over the course of the previous century several European countries absorbed substantial flows of fellow countrymen that had been driven out of the colonies, generally in the wake of dramatic events. Their residential integration in the mother country was characterized by complex processes that the scientific literature has thus far only partially addressed. An emblematic case is that of Italians expelled en-masse from Libya in the 1960s. The process of expulsion, concentrated mainly in the years 1967-70, involved Italians of different religious faiths: Catholics (arriving between 1968-1970), and Jews (arriving in 1967). The objective of the present study was to determine whether in Rome – one of the major destinations of this exodus – different patterns of residential settlement exist corresponding to these two subgroups of returnees. A household-based analysis of residential segregation was performed for the two subgroups, revealing considerable differences between their respective settlement patterns. The settlement geography of Jewish returnees showed a high level of segregation. Essentially concentrated in few areas, mostly in the city centre, Italian Jews from Libya tended to settle in the areas traditionally inhabited by Rome's Jews since long before the Libyan exodus. In contrast, Catholic households exhibited a moderate degree of segregation and tended to settle in peripheral areas. The availability, to Jewish households, of a solid support network in the city may have contributed to this outcome.

Keywords: Italian Libyans, postcolonial repatriation, segregation, Jewish, Rome

Introduction

Several authors have addressed the issue of residential integration of migrants in receiving countries. The housing integration process of voluntary migrants has been central to the work of various schools of thought, often inspired by the Chicago School of Sociology (Park and Burgess, 1926; Barbagli and Pisati, 2012). As pointed out by Poppe (2013), however, the spatial behaviour of involuntary migrants – those compelled to emigrate for political reasons, persecutions or famine – has attracted less attention.

Today, this category is made up almost entirely of refugees, people forced to seek asylum in a foreign country. Nevertheless, especially in the context of 20th century history, the case of postcolonial migration – of those who were expelled from the colonies and made to return to the mother country – is equally important. Over the course of the previous century, several European countries absorbed substantial flows of fellow countrymen that had been driven out of the colonies, generally in the wake of dramatic events: French colonists returning from Algeria, Portuguese colonists back from Angola or Italians from Libya. Their residential integration in the mother country was characterized by complex processes that the scientific literature has thus far only partially addressed.

Involuntary migrations such as these, resulting from emergency situations, create a demand for housing that is often dealt with by resorting to temporary and/or makeshift solutions. Solutions which can sometimes become long-term. Clearly, for returnees, residential integration and integration in general, are facilitated by a number of factors, such as citizenship of the receiving country, and the presence of strong ties with that country and its culture, including knowledge of the language.

Presumably, then, populations of returnees may include different groups of individuals who, mostly due to ties maintained with their country of destination, follow different paths to integration in that country.

An emblematic case is that of Italians expelled en-masse from Libya in the 1960s. The process of expulsion, concentrated mainly in the years 1967-70, involved Italians of different religious faiths. Initially, especially in 1967, Jewish Italians who had always resided in Libya

were expelled[1]. The expulsion of the remainder of the Italians on the other hand – a mostly-Catholic population who had migrated to Libya in the framework of the great colonization project initiated by Mussolini – began in 1968 and ended in a large wave in 1970. In this context, historians have documented the expulsion from Libya of about 5,000 Jewish Italians in 1967, and of approximately 20,000 Catholic Italians at the end of the decade (De Felice, 1978; Del Boca, 1988).

The objective of the present study was to determine whether different patterns of residential settlement or possible evidence of segregation processes exist in this population, made up of people who share the experience of having been expelled from Libya.

Our hypothesis was that today, forty years after the fact, the city of Rome – one of the major destinations of the Italian Libyan exodus (Del Boca, 1988)[2] – would still reveal traces of such different modes of settlement.

We shall briefly describe the return of Italian Libyans and their settlement in Rome, a city that absorbed a substantial portion of this flow of migration. An analysis of the two subgroups under study, based on population register data, will then be presented. The two entry cohorts (1967 vs. 1968-70) will be compared, and differences in household composition will be discussed.

A spatial analysis will follow, aimed at tracing the settlement patterns of the two subpopulations. Here, maps showing the respective areas of settlement of the two groups will be presented, and segregation measures used.

The article falls into five sections. After the introduction, we briefly outline the theoretical framework used for analysis of this particular population of returnees (Italians expelled from Libya).

[1] This episode was not without precedent. A contingent of Libyan Jews arrived in Rome in the late 1940s and early 1950s. These people are likely to have constituted a portion of the great 1949-1951 exodus of Libyan Jews. The exodus – mostly towards Israel – involved over 90% of the Libyan Jewish population, and occurred in the wake of anti-Jewish pogroms in 1945 and 1948, amidst fears linked to imminent Libyan independence (Roumani, 2008: 191).

[2] Having spent a certain period of time in the refugee camps, a large proportion of the returnees settled in the provinces of Rome and Latina (Del Boca, 1988): in the case of the Rome province this is probably due to the need to be close to the public service offices with a view to recovering assets lost in Libya, while in the case of Latina it may well have been a matter of picking up the threads of family connections with the population originally from the Veneto region, resettled in the area of the reclaimed Pontine Marshes, and subsequently constituting a very large proportion of the settlers in Cyrenaica (1938-39: cf. Ipsen, 1997; Protasi and Sonnino, 2003).

The following section presents the documentation used for this study, obtained with ad hoc processing of the family records collected in the Municipal Population Register. A point to bear in mind is that there are no official statistics or censuses of the Italians who have returned from Libya to live in Italy[3], which is why even important contributions on the subject in the literature often take reference from specific archives (for example, the list of bulletins issued by the Joint Committee[4] to Jews expelled in 1967: cf. Roumani, 2015: 252), oral sources or documentation of a historical nature but hardly very substantial from the quantitative point of view. Illustrated here, too, is the procedure in constructing the indexes to measure the degree of residential segregation of the population under examination.

We then come to the results of the analysis, obtained by processing the indexes proposed and a series of maps showing the geographical distribution of the population in question and the main results of the spatial analysis. Finally, the various findings are discussed and the conclusions drawn.

Theoretical framework

For people coming from abroad, the process of settlement is complex but nevertheless regularly involves several basic elements. Migrants initially tend to form ethnically homogeneous groups, gathering in a number of specific areas of the city, generally in the centre. Later, to the extent that their socio-economic status improves, they may move to semi-peripheral areas where interaction with the locals is easier (Massey and Denton, 1988). Residential proximity, usually associated with the initial phase of settlement following migration, is linked to a tendency for newcomers to seek housing close to other members of their own ethnic group (Casacchia, Natale and Martino, 2012). Residential proximity thus probably represents a voluntary choice in an attempt to minimize the costs associated with migration. The need to be close to members of the group with which one feels the greatest affinity and with which one has shared experiences, is also linked to the possibility of accessing social and instrumental networks, especially useful

[3] As far as the statistical documentation regarding the population of Italian origin present in Libya is concerned, the situation is, as we well know, very different indeed (cf. Podestà, 2012).

[4] The American Jews Joint Distribution Committee, more commonly known as the Joint, had its beginnings in New York in 1914, to support Jews in need of help all over the world.

in the initial stages of integration in the host country. Residential proximity may therefore be considered an advantage for the migrant.

Postcolonial migration flows are likely to have followed other patterns, however. This is because returnees, having the same citizenship as the locals and thus enjoying equal rights in the destination country, are more likely than newly arrived migrants to have access to existing support networks. Still, especially in the context of tumultuous events such as forced return in the wake of political upheaval, the mother country – caught unprepared for the task of absorbing the wave of returnees – often resorts to temporary solutions[5]. Actually, we must also take account the widespread conviction among the population in question, or at least the Jewish component of it, that the expulsion from Libya was only temporary, and that they would be able to return once things had calmed down (Roumani, 2015: 250).

As we have seen, the 1967-1970 wave of migration involved people from a single country that were all victims of an expulsion process taking place over several years, but which occurred in two well-defined phases. It thus seemed appropriate to postulate the existence of two different modes of adaptation.

Traces of these two modes of adaptation are likely to still be visible today. Such stability is probable not only due to the difficulties inherent in moving, but also in light of the low levels of residential mobility characteristic of Italy (Recano-Valverde and de Miguel-Luken, 2012; Bonifazi, 2014), resulting in enduring geographical distributions.

Moreover, with concern to geographical distribution pattern, it is common knowledge that Jews tend to live certain parts of the city. Numerous studies show that even in Middle Age the law forced Jews to live in specific parts of the city, isolating them from the rest of the population. Jews were the primary residents of these areas (Wirth, 1968: 10). As a result, the Jewish community was isolated geographically and socially and it seemed to provide the best conditions in order to follow religious precepts like food preparation, dietary laws, attending services at the synagogue, and many other social functions in the community that religious duty requires of its members (Wirth, 1968: 23). Even for those who feel indifferently towards ritual practice or towards religious observance living in the

[5] As Del Boca (1988: 472) writes, «[…] the announcement of the expulsion of Italians from Libya and confiscation of all their assets caused more wonder than indignation in Italy. The vast majority of Italians had not even been aware of the existence of such a large community of Italians in Libya, and with such considerable economic interests».

Ghetto was imposed by the social and economic conditions: the fearness of those who have fled from persecution compels the Jewish immigrant to settle in the same area as his/her peer.

Data and methods

Data and definitions

Stock information on households regarding 2003 and 2011 was extracted from the Municipal Population Register (anagrafe). The Municipal Population Register contains information on the individual status of the entire de jure resident population of the city.

The household – defined as a nucleus sharing a single dwelling – was chosen as the unit of analysis. Indeed, it is the household, rather than the individual, that is clearly the most appropriate unit – the true monadic unit – for a segregation analysis aimed at measuring the intensity of relations with the neighbourhood of one or more ethnic groups.

We considered only households with at least one member of Italian nationality having moved to Rome from Libya during the period under study (1967-1970). A proxy variable, the year of migration, allowed us to distinguish between the two subgroups, Jews and Catholics; a distinction that would have been impossible based solely on available documents regarding migration flows. Therefore, the data allowed a distinction between those arriving in 1967, mainly Jews, and those arriving between 1968 and 1970, mostly Catholics. Although these religious affiliations are only assumptions based on historical accounts of the events that brought these people to Italy, for the sake of brevity we shall use the labels "Jewish" and "Catholic" to refer to the two respective subgroups[6].

We found about 1,600 eligible households comprising 4,300 individuals at the end of 2003. The geographic area analyzed is the urban zone. Despite the availability of more detailed, census block information, we opted for these larger-scale units due to the relatively limited number of cases[7].

[6] In rare cases, a single household would include both people who returned in 1967 and others who returned between 1968 and 1970. In cases such as these, the household was assigned to one of the two subgroups based on the year of entry of the head of the household, or – if impossible – of the majority of Italian Libyan household members.

[7] In 2003, Rome's municipality comprised about 13,000 census blocks and 155 urban zones.

Methods and measures

Several authors define spatial segregation as the residential separation of one group from a larger population, such that the group in question is over-represented in certain areas and under-represented in others (Johnston et al., 1971; Denton and Massey, 1989; Pamuk, 2004). This approach sees the phenomenon as one-dimensional, clearly linked to the concept of concentration, i.e., the level of density of a given group in a given urban space. According to another common approach, residential segregation is a multidimensional construct (Massey and Denton, 1988). It is «... a global construct that subsumes five underlying dimensions of measurement each corresponding to a different aspect of spatial variation» (Massey and Denton, 1988: 283). The Gini index (Leti, 1999) is traditionally used to measure the *evenness* of a distribution, in this case, that of Italian Libyan households in Rome. Its values range from 0 to 1, i.e., between the two extreme situations: equal distribution of the phenomenon (e.g., Catholic Italian Libyan households) between the elementary units considered (urban zones), versus maximum concentration of the phenomenon in a single unit. We also calculated the index of dissimilarity, another measure of evenness (Massey and Denton, 1988), which however compares two distributions.

The average neighbourhood index (NI) (Borjas, 1995; Pan Ké Shon and Verdugo, 2014; Verdugo, 2011) was used to measure the degree of *isolation* of each subgroup in each area of residence. In other words, the extent to which, in a given urban zone, households of a specific subgroup are exposed to other households of the same subgroup. The index was calculated – for each urban zone – as the subgroup-weighted mean of the subgroup proportion of households. For each urban zone, we then calculated the ratio of the observed, local NI to the expected NI (that of the overall population, assuming an even distribution of the subgroup in question). Suppose that the NI yields the value of 20%; in other words, that the probability that a member of our ethnic subgroup to meet another member of the same subgroup, calculated considering the different weights of this population in each of the zones, is double that obtained by simply considering the population as a whole (10%). In this case, the ratio between the NI and the proportion of the subgroup in the population is 2. The more uneven the distribution of the subgroup across the city, the higher the value of the NI, and thus also the ratio of the latter to the proportion of the subgroup in the overall population.

Lastly, for a more exhaustive picture of the phenomenon of residential proximity, measures of spatial autocorrelation – increasingly used in the study of residential segregation – were used. We employed Moran's I, a measure of global spatial autocorrelation in that it gives summary information on the existence of the studied phenomenon in a given area. For urban zone i and variable y, one can construct local measures (or LISAs, Local Indicators of Spatial Association: Anselin, 2005), a very widely used measures also in social sciences.

The Italian Libyan population

We analyzed the Italian Libyan population of Rome in terms of its socio-demographic structure by year of arrival in Rome[8], and its geographic distribution. The graph below, based on data collected at the end of 2003[9], shows the number of Italian citizens who settled in Rome by year of arrival from Libya. The 1961 spike corresponds to the introduction in Libya of a new law on property, prohibiting foreigners from acquiring real estate, following the promulgation of which, a rumour spread among Italian colonists in Libya, to the effect that their land would soon be nationalized (Del Boca, 1988: 446-447). The bulk of the flow is concentrated in the years 1967-1970 however, when, due to political reasons, a mass expulsion of Italian Libyans took place (Figure 1). The expulsion initially (1967) concerned only Jews (both Italian and non-Italian Jews)[10], and was subsequently applied to all Italians as well. The year 1970 marks the end of Italian presence in Libya, for all intents and purposes. On 21 July, laws confiscating the property of Italians were introduced, and the expulsion of all Italians was ordered – approximately 20,000 residents, as estimated at the time (Casacchia and Natale, 2012, 101)[11].

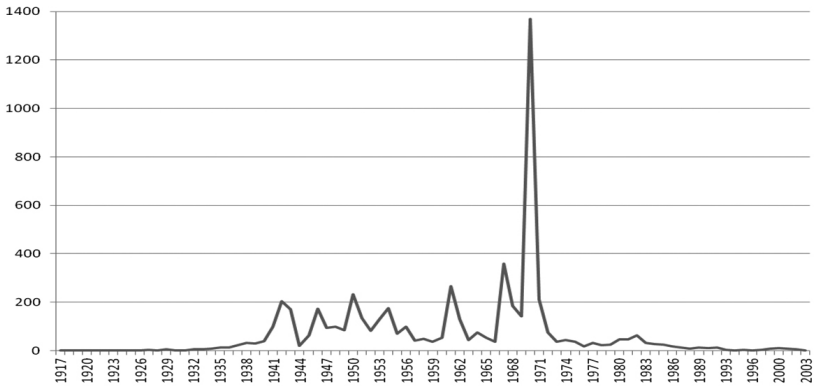
[8] On December 31 2003, the overall Italian Libyan population resident in Rome, regardless of the year of arrival, numbered 18,600 individuals, grouped into 7,700 households. Eight years later, it was 15,000 (and 6,400 households). In our study we focused only on those having arrived between 1967-1970.

[9] Despite the fact that data from late 2011 were available to us, we chose to analyze the respective characteristics of the two subgroups on data from 31 December 2003, a date closer to the return of this population to Italy. In addition, considering that the study addressed a diminishing cohort, the earlier batch of data included a larger population.

[10] According to Roumani (2015: 269), of the 5,000 who arrived in Italy in 1967, something between 3,200 and 3,500 then went on to Israel. Moreover, there are no reliable statistics on the proportion of Italians in the component of Jewish faith present in Libya at the time of the 1967 expulsion (Roumani 2015: 261).

[11] The trickle of returnees from Libya after 1970 is linked to the fact that a small community of Italians, mostly technical advisers or engineers working in infrastructure projects in Libya, gradually formed after the expulsion.

Figure 1. Italian Libyans resident in Rome by year of arrival, 31 Dec 03.



On the basis of the historical record, it is reasonable to assume that the original Libyan group that emigrated to Rome in 1967, a decisive year for the fate of the Jewish population, essentially appeared to have been composed of individuals of the Jewish faith. In Libya, as evidenced by a variety of sources, there were already few survivors, mostly among the elderly: "The exodus took place within little over a month. In September the remaining Jews in Libya numbered not more than a little over a hundred, all in Tripoli save for two in Benghazi. The vast majority, just over 4,100, reached Italy" (De Felice, 1978: 422).

Following these historical circumstances, the subsequent flows, seen as highly consistent in the period of the progressive flight of Italians that found its apex in the mass expulsion of 1970, were likely composed of individuals primarily of the Catholic faith.

We initially quantified the two population subgroups. The Jewish group comprised 855 individuals in 287 households, while the Catholic group included 3,450 individuals in 1,332 households (Table 1).

As far as household structure is concerned, significant differences between the groups were evident. The Jewish group showed a somewhat lower percentage of one-person households (23% vs. 27%) and a higher percentage of large households numbering at least five members – 18% compared to only 7% in the Catholic group. The mean size of households was therefore much larger in the first group than in the second (nearly 3 vs. 2.6, see Table 1). Lastly, single parent families were more frequent in the 1967 group (16 vs. 11%).

Table 1. Selected characteristics of Italian Libyan households by subgroup, 31 Dec 03.

Variables	Households with at least one member having arrived in Rome from Libya in 1967 (Jews)	Households with at least one member having arrived in Rome from Libya in 1968-70 (Catholics)
Household size (%)		
One member	23.3	27.0
Two members	21.6	24.5
Three	18.5	21.0
Four	18.8	20.3
Five or more	17.8	7.2
Average size of household	2.59	2.98
Household type (%)		
Couples without children	11.9	13.3
Couples with children	39.7	38.6
One person households	23.3	27.0
Single parent households	16.0	11.0
Other	9.1	10.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Female headed households (%)	32.8	32.7
Mean age of household head	57.8	61.8
Mean age of household head upon arrival	23.0	27.4
Absolute Values		
Households	287	1,332
Individuals	855	3,450

Source: authors' own analysis based on Rome's Population Register data

Jewish household heads tended to be younger than their Catholic counterparts (mean age, 57.8 vs. almost 62), and were correspondingly younger also upon arrival in Rome (23 vs. 27.4, respectively). No differences were found between the two groups in terms of the percentage of female household heads (in both cases, roughly 33%, see Table 1)[12].

[12] The results obtained here do not differ significantly from what we found analyzing data from late 2009 (Casacchia and Natale, 2012). Any differences may be attributed to the inclusion criteria used in the latter study, which referred specifically to the date of re-entry of the household head, rather than to that of any household member. Applied to the current study, such a definition would include 75% and 81% of the Jewish and Catholic households, respectively (rather than 100%, as in 2009).

As far as concerns the observation of the geographical distribution of the two groups, this is a matter of analysing a process reconstructed at a distance of 33-36 years from its occurrence. In other words, the – reasonably plausible – hypothesis is that the selection mechanism due to turnover in the Italian population of Libyan origin (through births, deaths, emigration, immigration and possible acquisition of citizenship) played a negligible role in modifying the residential pattern of the two communities. In support of this hypothesis we can observe the geographical distribution of individuals based on the age they were at the moment of their departure from Libya. We consider two multi-year cohorts of entry, distinguishing adults from young people, by contrasting cohorts born after 1949 from their respective elders born prior (which means, for arrivals in Rome in 1967, considering individuals who at the moment of entry were under 18 years of age, and for cohorts of arrivals between 1968 and 1970, those less than 18-20 years of age). The reduced value of the Dissimilarity Index, never greater than 10%, shows that the elderly and the young lived in the same areas of the city, and that this was true for both Jews and Catholics: in the presence of a reduced mobility between the two generations, that of the elderly (those who were approximately 68-69 years of age on the 31.12.2003) and young people (individuals who in the fall of 2003 had an average age of 43-46 years), the hypothesis of a limited mobility of the collective between the years of entry in Rome (1967-1970) and that in which one observes the pattern of settlement (the end of 2003) appears strengthened.

Table 2. Average age at arrival in Rome and on 31.12.2003 of the Italian Libyan population by subgroup. Dissimilarity Index of distribution by district.

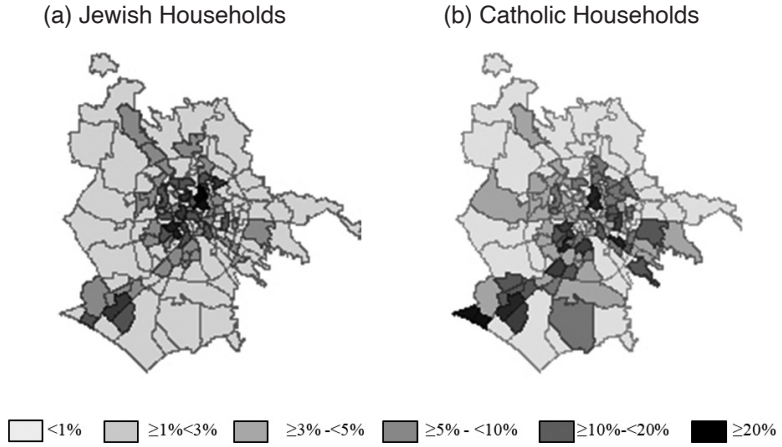
Indicators	Jews		Catholics		Adult - Young age difference	
	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Jews	Catholics
Average age at entry in Rome	10,0	32,2	9,9	35,4	22,2	25,5
Average age on 31.12.2003	46,0	68,2	43,2	68,7	22,2	25,6
Dissimilarity Index[a]	9,4%		10,1%			

Source: see Table 1
Note: (a) the index of dissimilarity is built by considering the District of Rome

Furthermore, preliminary processing of data on migration (both within the municipal area and with other municipal areas and abroad) in a more recent period seems to bear out this hypothesis. It must, however, be noted that this hypothesis would apply, at least with regard to the mobility of the population born in Libya and resident in Rome, comprehensively, for unfortunately it is impossible to distinguish within the flows – migratory and otherwise – between those who arrived in Rome in 1967 and those who arrived in the following three years.

The geographical distribution patterns of the two subgroups seemed rather different. The first group, that of Jewish Italians, were clustered in semi-central areas, especially in the northeastern quadrant of the city (Map (a)). The area in question comprises three urban zones (in order of importance, Nomentano, Trieste and Parioli).

Map 1. Jewish and Catholic Italian Libyan households by urban zone (%). Rome, 31 Dec 03.



Source: see Table 1

Another noteworthy, albeit smaller settlement, can be found in the western part of the city (in the urban zones of Gianicolense and Marconi). At the end of 2003, about half of the Jewish households studied were concentrated in only two clusters made up of five urban zones (Map 2(a)).

Map 2. Main clusters of Jewish and Catholic Italian Libyan households by urban zone. Rome, 31 Dec 03.

(a) Jewish Households

(b) Catholic Households

Note: main clusters are shown in black
Source: see Table 1

This geographical distribution appears strikingly to be connected with the fulfilment of particular, mainly religious, obligations (see Map 3 concerning the placement of Synagogues in Rome by type of rite).

Map 3. Synagogues in the centre of Rome of "Libyan" rite[a]

Note (a): the synagogues of Libyan observance (grey point)
Source: see Table 1

Catholic Italian Libyans, on the other hand, were scattered to a much greater extent; several residential clusters of this population emerged from the analysis, most notably on the extreme southwe-

stern periphery (Map 1(b)), in the urban zones of north and south Ostia, Infernetto and Palocco. The number of residential clusters identified for this group (at least four) was larger than for the other group (Map 2(b)). This result reflects the existence of several relatively important, but isolated urban zones for this community.

Similarly, while the Gini index revealed a high degree of unevenness in the Catholic subgroup, its value was even higher in the Jewish subgroup (G = 0.70 and 0.85, respectively. See Table 3)[13].

Table 3. Selected territorial indicators by population subgroup, 31 Dec 03.

Indicators	Jews	Catholics
Mean number of households per Urban Zone	1.85	8.54
Mean number of households per non-empty Urban Zone	4.47	10.84
Gini index	0.85	0.70
Dissimilarity Index	0.57	

Source: see Table 1

Lastly, the two groups seemed to differ from each other, as reflected by the high value of the dissimilarity index (D=0.57).

The neighbourhood index (NI) yielded interesting results. Whereas in Rome, the proportion of Jewish Italian Libyan households is 0.0003 (i.e., the probability that such a family randomly meet another is 0.3 per thousand), the same probability, calculated excluding "empty" urban zones where this subgroup is absent, is five times higher (0.0014). In other words, a typical Jewish household of Italian Libyan origin lives, on average, in an urban zone where the weight of this group is five times higher than in the entire population of Rome. The same measure, for Catholic Italian Libyans – a group whose share in the overall population of Roman households is 1.2 per thousand – yields a result (2.55) which is higher than one, but lower than in the Jewish subgroup (Table 4).

[13] For reference, in 2011, the Gini index for Italian citizens resident in Rome by urban zone (data obtained from the Population Register) was 0.45.

Table 4. Neighbourhood Index for Italian Libyans. Rome, 31 Dec 03.

Neighbourhood characteristics of an average household in:	As a proportion of the total number of households in Rome (a)	Neighbourhood Index(b)	Ratio (b)/(a)
Jewish households	0.0003	0.0014	5.34
Catholic households	0.0012	0.0032	2.55

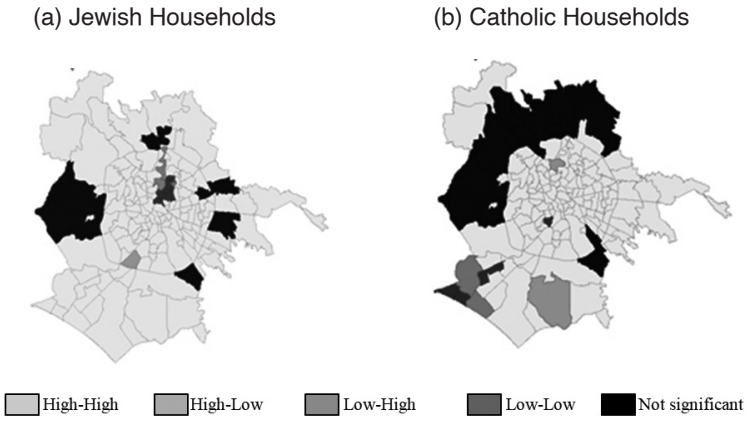
Source: see Table 1

Finally, spatial autocorrelation measures did not give noteworthy results. In the Jewish subgroup, a significant but low level of spatial association was observed (Moran's I = 0.10), lower than the corresponding value in the Catholic subgroup (0.33).

More important than the overall values, however, was the analysis of local indices of spatial autocorrelation (LISAs), clearly delineating the two collectives. Few, specific zones seemed to exist – in the aforementioned quadrant – where the Jewish collective is concentrated and from which it spreads (High-High, namely, high values surrounded by high values). Along the east-west axis were zones where the group's presence appeared to be scarce. An additional urban zone was identified as an outlier (High-Low), i.e., an area inhabited by a large contingent of Jewish returnees from Libya, surrounded by zones where few members of the group reside.

More numerous were the areas characterized by the presence of a sizeable group of Catholic returnees from Libya. Only three of these areas however, were surrounded by other "Catholic returnee" zones (High-High), while the remaining areas were outliers (High-Low). Most of the areas in the map may be classified as Low-Low – areas where the proportion of the households under study is low, bordering on areas where the situation is similar (Map 4).

Map 4. Clusters of Jewish and Catholic Italian Libyan households by urban zone - local indices of spatial autocorrelation (LISAs). Rome, 31 Dec 03



Source: see Table 1

The household dynamic of Italian Libyans, 2003-2011

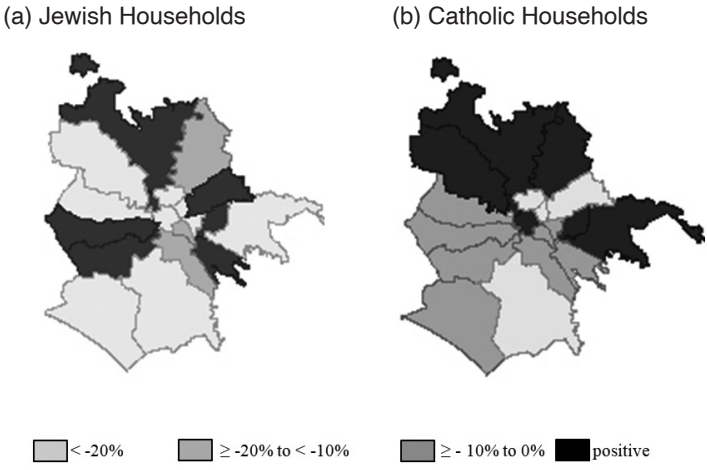
Thanks to the availability of data from late 2011, and the possibility of comparing it with 2003 data, we were able to analyze the dynamics of Italian Libyan households. For the sake of convenience, we referred to larger territorial units – the 19 districts by which Rome was divided before the 2013 reform. Clearly, the two groups declined in these eight years, owing to the fact that the population in question is a cohort, whose members, who are by now relatively old, exit the study usually due to death[14]. The 1,619 households observed in 2003 dropped to 1,394 in 2011. Their members, 4,305 at the start (Table 1), dropped by 13% at the end of 2011.

The dynamics of the two groups may provide clues regarding the degree of consistency between the segregation patterns observed above and subsequent residential mobility. Admittedly, we were only

[14] Interestingly, during the period in question (2003-2011), the members of Italian Libyan households, whether Jewish or Catholic, showed a consistently lower probability of death than the rest of the Roman population. These calculations were done based only on Italian citizens born in Libya, excluding those who came from Libya but were born elsewhere, as the necessary information for the latter was not available from death certificates. The denominator was therefore defined in a manner that would be consistent with the numerator.

able to examine the "gross" dynamics, without being able to isolate all the causes that may have contributed to modify the observed results (births, deaths, migration to and from Rome, etc.)[15]. Despite these limits, the analysis of variation rates from 2003 to 2011 seems to clearly indicate that the two groups followed different paths (Map 5), since the districts in which the respective subgroups grew in size differed. For the Jewish subgroup, these were the districts along the east-west axis, whereas for the Catholic subgroup, only one district – located in the north-western quadrant (the 19th district) - showed a positive rate of change.

Map. 5. Jewish and Catholic households by district. Variation rates, 2003-2011



Source: see Table 1

Discussion and conclusion

The hypothesis to be tested was the existence, among Italian returnees from Libya, of distinct subgroups of people who followed different models of residential integration in Rome, partly as a result

[15] Data regarding changes of residence within the city of Rome are collected but not published. In addition, the way information is arranged within the population register makes access to data regarding the year in which individuals moved into the city impossible.

of relations maintained with Italy. Two favourable circumstances made differential analysis possible: the fact that historical sources associate specific years of arrival in Italy with either of the two religious groups, and the availability of data regarding the year of return to Italy (and the country of departure, information which is rarely available). It was therefore possible to distinguish between the two groups, albeit only roughly.

The analysis revealed considerable differences between the settlement patterns of the two subgroups of returnees. In brief, Jewish households were concentrated to a greater extent than Catholic households, and tended to settle in central areas more than their Catholic counterparts.

The newcomers' demand for housing seems to have been met through two different modes of supply. Jewish returnees probably satisfied their housing needs independently. The Jewish refugees, who were the first to arrive in Italy, were able to benefit from a powerful contributing factor to integration in the host society - the presence of an age-old, well-established and highly cohesive Jewish community in Rome (Natale and Toscano, 2014). Libyan Jews settled mainly in the areas of traditional Jewish presence in Rome. In other words, the residential integration of the Libyan Jewish contingent follows the geographical distribution of Roman Jews in general, who traditionally reside in specific areas of the city. In fact, nuclei of Libyan Jews had already been living in these areas since the early 1950s. This is likely to have been a powerful beacon for the newcomers in 1967. Jewish returnees thus seem to have adopted a residential pattern characterized by clustering in a few, well-defined areas of the city. This choice is probably linked to a number of factors, such as the need to reside in the vicinity of the workplace (for those in the field of commerce, for example, this would mean living close to shopping areas) or the fulfilment of particular, mainly religious, obligations. It is well known, for instance, that the observance of certain Jewish religious precepts requires that one reside in specific areas (e.g., the necessity to live within walking distance from a synagogue, so as to be able to participate in services on Saturdays and holidays when driving is prohibited. See Natale and Toscano, 2014, p. 292). One might say, then, that the Jewish population tended to adopt private solutions, with returnees availing themselves of a pre-existing support network.

Catholic returnees, on the other hand, unable to count on pre-existing, equally robust support networks, appear to have adopted a more diverse model of integration, exhibiting a less marked tendency to concentrate. Moreover, the group can be found in various areas

of the city, which rarely coincide with those of the Jewish group. This is partly linked to the original settlement formed upon arrival in Italy, when numerous refugees were accommodated either in social housing estates or in specially set up refugee camps.

To sum up, Catholic Italian citizens expelled from Libya following post-colonization, who returned to Rome in large numbers in the late 1960s, followed very different residential paths from those of Jewish Italian citizens returning from Libya in 1967. The latter, in the presence of the solid support networks characteristic of the relationships between Jewish families, have probably opted for a specific kind of residential integration: even years after their return, this group's settlement geography showed a high level of segregation from the rest of the city's population. Essentially concentrated in few areas, Italian Jews from Libya tended to settle in the areas traditionally inhabited by Rome's Jews since long before the Libyan exodus.

A rather innovative aspect of this study was the fact that the analysis addressed the behaviour of households rather than that of individuals. Since families normally live together in a single household and move as one, we believe this approach afforded us a more accurate description of the modes of residential integration of the population studied, than would have been obtained through the study of individuals.

Theoretically speaking, the analysis confirmed an important fact, namely that controlling for the heterogeneity of a population, even if tricky or difficult, is always a necessary task. In our case, a seemingly highly homogeneous collective, a group of individuals sharing the same citizenship who lived through the same historical events, turned out to have been composed of two very different subgroups in terms of demographic structure and residential strategies.

It should be borne in mind that the following analysis records the differences between the subgroups as measured many years after the events that presumably produced them. Observable differences may therefore be at least partly attributable to subsequent variations or events. However, it is worth noting that even today, over forty years after the arrival of this group in the city, its distinctive settlement patterns are still apparent.

In conclusion, the cultural and religious distinction we were able to make, allowed us to clearly discern, in a seemingly very homogeneous population of Italian refugees from Libya, two subgroups with very different modes of settlement. This distinction is essential for the formulation of valid hypotheses regarding possible underlying causes of the subgroups' respective models of urban integration.

References

Anselin, Luc (2005). *Exploring Spatial Data with GeoDaTM Center for Spatially Integrated Social Science*. Available at: www.csiss.org/clearinghouse/GeoDa/geodaworkbook.pdf (Accessed: 19 March 2016).

Barbagli, Mario; Pisati, Maurizio (2012). *Dentro e fuori le mura. Città e gruppi sociali dal 1400 ad oggi*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Bonifazi, Corrado (2014). *L'Italia delle migrazioni*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Borjas, George (1995). Ethnicity, Neighborhoods, and Human Capital Externalities, *The American Economic Review*, 85: 365-390.

Casacchia, Oliviero; Natale, Luisa (2012). Italiani di origine libica a Roma: la formazione di una popolazione a partire da un flusso in via di esaurimento. *Popolazione e Storia*, 2: 91-115.

Casacchia, Oliviero; Natale, Luisa; Martino, Giordana (2012). *La presenza straniera all'interno della città: Roma e Parigi a confronto*. Roma: CISU.

De Felice, Renzo (1978). *Ebrei in un paese arabo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Del Boca, Angelo (1988). *Gli italiani in Libia: dal fascismo a Gheddafi*. Bari: Laterza.

Johnston, Ron (1971). *Urban Residential Patterns. An Introductory Review*. London: Bells and Sons.

Ipsen, Carl. (1997). *Demografia totalitaria. Il problema della popolazione nell'Italia fascista*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Massey, Douglas; Denton, Nancy (1988). The dimensions of residential segregation. *Social Forces*, 67: 281-315.

Massey, Douglas; Denton, Nancy (1989). Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation along Five Dimensions. *Demography*, 26: 373-391.

Natale Luisa; Toscano, Pia (2014). Libyan Jews in Rome: integration and impact on the Roman Jewish Community. *Studi Emigrazione/Etudes Migration*, 194: 275-295.

Park Roderick; Burgess, Ernest (1926). *The Urban Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Pamuk, Ayse (2004). Geography of Immigrant Cluster in Global Cities: A case Study in San Francisco. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28: 287-307.

Pan Kè Shon Jean Louis; Verdugo Gregory (2014). Forty years of immigrant segregation in France 1968-2007. How different is the new immigration?. *Urban Studies*, 52:823-840.

Poppe, Will (2013). Patterns and Meanings of Housing: Residential Mobility and Homeownership among Former Refugees. *Urban Geography*, 34: 218-241.

Podestà, Gian Luca (2012). I censimenti nei domini coloniali come fonte per la storia sociale. In ISTAT-SIDeS (eds.), *I censimenti nell'Italia unita. Le fonti di stato della popolazione tra il XIX e il XX secolo* (253-273). *Annali di Statistica*, 141, 12.

Protasi, Maria Rosa; Sonnino, Eugenio (2003). Politiche di popolamento, colonizzazione interna e colonizzazione demografica nell'Italia liberale e fascista. *Popolazione e Storia*, 1: 91-138.

Recano-Valverde, Joaquìn; De Miguel-Luken,Veronica (2012). *The Internal Migration of Foreign-born Population in Southern Europe: Demographic Patterns and Individual Determinants.* In Nissa Finney and Gemma Catney (eds.), *Minority Internal Migration in Europe* (239-262). Ashgate: Farnham.
Roumani, Maurice (2008). *The Jews of Libya: coexistence, persecution, resettlement.* Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.
Roumani, Maurice (2015). *Gli ebrei di Libia, dalla coesistenza all'esodo*. Roma: Castelvecchi.
Verdugo, Gregory (2011). Logement social et ségrégation résidentielle des immigrés en France 1968-1999. *Population,* 66: 171-196.
Wirth, Louis (1968). *Il Ghetto.* Milano: Edizioni di Comunità.